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THE  
SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

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THEIR DISCOVERERS, REAL AND  
PRETENDED.

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A REPORT,  
BY  
HON. JAMES H. BAKER,

READ BEFORE THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FEBRUARY 8, 1887.

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THE  
SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

THEIR DISCOVERERS, REAL AND PRETENDED.

A Report, by Hon. James H. Baker, read before the  
Minnesota Historical Society, Feb. 8, 1887.

In pursuance of a resolution of the Minnesota Historical Society, dated Dec. 13, 1886, your committee herewith present a summary of their investigations and conclusions, touching the validity of any and all claims to the discovery of the head waters of the Mississippi river, together with a determination of what waters constitute the true and ultimate sources.

Your committee have faithfully and laboriously read all letters, documents, journals and books, and consulted all maps obtainable,\* which shed any light upon the questions

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\* BOOKS, LETTERS, AND DOCUMENTS CONSULTED: Letter of William Morrison to Hon. Alex. Ramsey, Feb. 17, 1856, in Minnesota Historical Society's Collections, vol. 1, p 417. Schoolcraft's narratives of the expedition to the source of the Mississippi, 1820 and 1832. Report of Jean N. Nicollet, to accompany his map of the hydrographical basin of the upper Mississippi river, 1845. Charles Lanman's Canoe Voyage up the Mississippi. Julius Chambers' letters in the New York Herald, 1872. O. E. Garrison's report for the tenth census of the U. S. Rev. J. A. Gilfillan's trip to Itasca, 1881. The United States Surveyor General's map and field notes, 1876. Letter from Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co. in "Science," Dec. 24, 1886. Owen's "Sword and Pen," Phila., 1884. Capt. Glazier and his lake, by Henry D. Harrower, of N. Y. Ninth annual report of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, 1880. American Meteorological Journal, 1884. Report by Hopewell Clarke, C. E., of a survey of the affluents of Itasca, etc.

MAPS CONSULTED: Map of Nicollet, attached to his report, 1845. Military map of Nebraska and Dakota, by Gen. G. K. Warren, 1855. Official map of Minnesota, 1858. Land office surveys of 1875. Map of Glazier's explorations, etc.

involved. A list of the several authorities constituted, is herewith subjoined.

The definite determination of a great geographical and historic fact, intimately interwoven with a pre-eminent physical feature of our own State, is strictly within the province and duty of this Society. The material facts and findings in this investigation only, can be presented in this paper, together with such references to the evidence on which the conclusions are based, as may be deemed material.

One Capt. Willard Glazier, recently assumes to have made important discoveries at the head waters of the Mississippi; that he discovered a lake, new and unknown before his brief visit to the Itasca region, in 1881; and that this lake, called after him "Glazier Lake," is the true and ultimate source of the great river. He thereafter proceeds to exalt himself, and petition geographical societies and map-makers, to honor him as the original discoverer of the true sources of the Mississippi, and so displace Schoolcraft and Nicollet from the high position and credit they had so long held in the field of American science and geography. The claim is a lofty and pretentious one, and should be examined with scrupulous care. To snatch the hard-earned laurels of Schoolcraft and Nicollet, upon whose work time has set the seal of more than a half a century of uncontested title, should not be sanctioned by the Minnesota Historical Society, upon a field so distinctly its own, unless the new claim rests upon testimony clear, conclusive and indisputable. This Society owes it to the honored dead, and to the truth of geographical science in its own territory, to make a candid, unbiased, and if possible, a conclusive exposition of the whole matter.

The most distant sources of the Mississippi river have their rise in an elevated table land in about N. latitude  $47^{\circ}$ , longitude  $95^{\circ}$ , an area abounding in marshes, creeks and lakes. What one of these should be honored as the true

and principal source, and what explorer first discovered and made known such primal waters, are the questions involved.

Says the *American Encyclopedia*, (Edition 1855)—“ We follow Schoolcraft’s map in giving the latitude and longitude of “ *Le Bush Lake* ”\* (Itasca) as the extreme source of the Mississippi.” The old geographers, map-makers and historians have thus followed Schoolcraft for fifty years, in accepting the Itasca basin as the authentic source. The great discovery of Schoolcraft, July 12, 1832, was confirmed by Jean N. Nicollet, a distinguished French scholar, July, 1836. Nicollet, with more time and research, found other inconsiderable affluents of Itasca, but holds that Itasca was the “ principal basin ” of the head waters of the Mississippi, and says with noble courtesy and loyalty to historic truths : “ The honor of having first explored the sources of the Mississippi, and introduced a knowledge of them into physical geography, belongs to Mr. Schoolcraft and Lt. James Allen. I came only after these gentlemen ; but I may be permitted to claim some merit for having completed what was wanting for a full geographical knowledge of those sources.” This is the modest testimony of a true and genuine scientist. Subsequently, at least a dozen other cultivated, scholarly and professional gentlemen, came after these savans, and at various periods, visited these head waters, and by their concurrent testimony, render certain the claims of these two eminent explorers to the honor of original discovery. And after them all, comes the government surveyors, (1875), and their work proves the almost absolute accuracy of the noble and early labors of Schoolcraft and Nicollet.

Thus stands the general geographic record, until Capt. Glazier flings his glove into the arena in 1881, and challenges existing and accepted history. Glazier appears to be a writer of war reminiscences, “ in which he figures

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\* *Lac la Biche.*

as the most conspicuous hero," and from what is known of him by his writings "he has been fairly denominated an "adventurer."\* There is no evidence going to show that he is possessed of any qualifications whatever, either as a trained scholar or scientist, fitting him for the important labor he had assumed. For he had taken it upon himself to review the work of men believed to be, in the highest sense, competent and skilled for geographical exploration. They came modestly and conscientiously to their work, and years of reflection and consideration elapsed before either of them gave the results of their labors to the world. They performed their work, too, before a white man had yet settled in the territory of Minnesota, and when danger and privations were the inevitable accompaniments of such early undertakings.

But Glazier appears upon the scene with dramatic bombast, and riding across the continent on horseback, in 1876, and musing upon "the uncertainty that existed as to its true source," resolves to settle the problem. At that very moment when his steed was slaking its thirst in the "Father of Waters," the government surveyors were plotting the official maps, which were the last links wanting to corroborate the validity of the work of Schoolcraft and Nicollet. In May 1881, Glazier organizes a pleasure excursion at St. Paul, and with his party starts on the cars "for exploration in the wilds of Minnesota." He travels 155 miles by railroad to the city of Brainerd in one night, and doubtless in a sleeping car. All this through a region over which Nicollet had toiled weeks and months with all the privations incident to an untrdden wilderness. Thence he goes by a well established road to Leech Lake, and is the identical old government wagon road over which all the supplies were hauled for the North Pacific railroad. From this road, another leaves it at Fish Hook Lake and

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\* See "Sword and Pen;" or, ventures and adventures of Willard Glazier, &c., by John Algernon Owens," Phila., 1884.

runs direct to the Southeast arm of Lake Itasca. From this E. S. Teller cut a road through Town 143, R. 36 W. into the S. E. corner of Section 26, and terminates just in sight of Elk Lake. Over this road the U. S. Surveyor, Hall, took his supplies with a team, in 1875, when he went to survey those towns.

The whole journey is not rendered perplexing by a single element of doubt. The pursuing of these routes along established roads and portages, with our Indians "as guides," if you please, and denominating it an "exploration," is so ludicrous to one familiar with the situation, as is the writer, that the whole thing is so supremely ridiculous, that, were it not for the seriousness of the situation, we would dismiss the matter as a joke, and Willard Glazier as merry fellow on a jolly outing.

Arriving at the Itasca waters, he goes straight to "Schoolcraft's Island" in the bosom of Lake Itasca, and thence, without impediment or doubt, direct to a "new and unknown lake," and at once discovers the original, genuine, ultimate sources of the great river! The directness and celerity of that sort of discovery and exploration, was never before recorded in serious history. He at once begins his work of distorting geography and confusing learned Societies. From "Schoolcraft's Island, Lake Itasca, July 22d, 1881," he heralded to "Geographical Societies" and to the world, his pretensions and achievements. He subsequently published an elaborate map and sent it to the President of the American Geographical Society, and published a minute account of the "Recent Discovery of the true source of the Mississippi River," illustrated with maps and engravings, in the "American Meteorological Journal." Also in a volume entitled the "Sword and Pen," there is reproduced the story of his discovery. He also sent a map, fortified with his own record of his alleged noble deed, to the "Royal Geographical Society of England." He has also industriously solicited the mention of his fame and

his lake into geographical text books and atlases over the country. He has left nothing undone to supplant Schoolcraft and demolish Nicollet. That such Societies should have received, unquestioned, his brazen statements, and been duped by him, is what renders the preparation of this paper a necessity.

The "lake" which Glazier claims to have "discovered," is a small meandered lake, which lies mainly in Sec. 22, Township No. 143 North, Range 36, West of the 5th Principal Meridian. The lake lies South of the Southwest arm of Lake Itasca, and is only 350 feet distant from it. It contains about 250 acres and debouches into Itasca through a sinuous stream, 1184 feet long, in a tamarack swamp. By his own description and map, this is "Glazier Lake," so-called, and there is no mistaking its identity, for there is no other.

Was Glazier the original discoverer of this lake? No; no more than he was the discoverer of the sources of the Nile, or the mouth of the Mississippi. And even were it true that he did, its waters are not the ultimate sources of the Mississippi. This identical lake is found upon every map, from that of Nicollet, 1836 and '37, to that of the Government surveys, 1875.

Now as to the testimony that he did not first discover it. It is so conclusive as to be crushing:

1. In 1836-7, Nicollet deposited a map of the Itasca region in the office of Engineers, U. S. A. By order of the Senate, Feb. 16, 1841, this map and accompanying report, was published in Executive Document, No. 237, 2d Session, 26th Congress, in 1843, and a second edition published and enlarged, and can be found in any of the public libraries of the country. Nicollet simply sketches the lake more as a bay or estuary of Itasca. In that day, by higher water, which is shown by water-marks to have existed, the lake was certainly identical with Itasca, for the distance is now only insignificant. As illustrative of this point, the

Rev. J. B. Gilfillan, visiting them in 1881, the Indians called this identical "Elk Lake," *Gabukgumag*, which he says means, "water that juts off to one side, as a thumb from a hand." This would indicate that at no remote period they were one and the same lake, and that the channel between them gradually filled, possibly by the aid of beaver dams, and they became apparently separate bodies of water, though only a "stone's throw apart" at this time. The Indians from the earliest period, called the whole Itasca lake system, *Omosh-kos*, from the form of an elk, and this protuberance was probably a part of the animal configuration. At any rate, it is there on Nicollet's official map, 1835, more nearly correct than it is on Glazier's map of 1884.

2. In 1855, Henry R. Schoolcraft, yet alive, issued in Philadelphia, (Lippincott, Grambo & Co.,) his "Summary Narrative of an exploratory expedition to the sources of the Mississippi." With this last edition of his works, Mr. Schoolcraft presents a revised map of all his discoveries, prepared by Capt. Seth Eastman, U. S. A., and it stands prefacing the title page, in which map this lake in controversy, is distinctly defined, together with "Nicollet Creek," with its three ponds, just precisely as described by Nicollet. So that the French scientist's work received, before he died, the high sanction and endorsement of Schoolcraft himself.

3. A "Military Map" of the Northwest was made in 1855-6, by the authority of John B. Floyd, then Secretary of War, prepared by Lt. G. K. Warren, of the Typographical Engineers, one of the foremost geographers of his time, from explorations made by him, under directions of A. A. Humphrey, and the following, among other officers, were consulted in its preparation and are so cited on its margin: Capt. J. C. Fremont, Capt. John Pope, Gov. I. I. Stevens and Lt. James Allen. The greatest care was taken in its preparation. This map clearly and distinctly shows the lake in controversy, located just where the government surveys now place it.

In 1872, Julius Chambers, of the New York *Herald*, visited the Itasca region. He wrote a series of letters for the *Herald* in June and July of that year, and in one dated July 6th, he gives a full description of "Elk Lake," locating it where it really belongs, and naming it "Dolly Varden," after his canoe. He describes it more accurately than does Capt. Glazier. He pronounces it at that time as a distinct lake from Itasca. This was seven years before Glazier was there. He made and published a map, showing the lake as represented in his letters, in the most distinct and positive manner, which map is here before us.

But more material than all since the days of Nicollet, was the actual survey and platting of these townships embracing that entire region, including Itasca and all lakes and streams connected therewith, by authority of the government of the U. S., through the Surveyor General's office of the State of Minnesota, six years before Capt. Glazier's alleged discovery. The Surveyor General, J. H. Baker, was fully informed of the facts touching the land and water to be surveyed. The lumbermen of Minneapolis had assured him that they had actually "counted the pine trees" on this very lake. They told him of waters beyond that (Nicollet creek), flowing into the S. W. arm of Itasca, through which they could float their logs into this great lake. The contract of surveying Township 143 North, Range 36 West, where these waters are located, was let to Capt. E. S. Hall of St. Cloud, and in Oct. 1875, Hall made the survey. The map of the Township was duly made up in the Surveyor General's Office from Capt. Hall's carefully written field notes, made upon the ground with proper instruments, and attention was especially directed to the lake in question. This Township map was certified to as correct by J. H. Baker, Surveyor General, Feb. 3d, 1876, and was by him transmitted to the General Land Office at Washington, and was officially approved by the Commissioner of the General Land Office and posted May 3d, 1876.

This map thenceforth became public property, accessible to all persons, and the supreme authority to all geographers and map-makers in the U. S. The lake in question was meandered, its outlines marked and four large meander posts set up, two on the East and two on the North, and distinctly visible when Capt. Glazier was there, for they were there and visible to travelers this present year. By authority of instructions from the Government of the U. S., Surveyor General Baker named the lake in question "Elk Lake," because he had been directed to retain the name given by the Indians to meander lakes, if any such name was in use or known at the time of the survey. Capt. Hall informed the Surveyor General that the Indian name was Elk Lake. This corresponded with the traditional name of the waters. It was therefore so marked on the plat, and approved by the authorities at Washington. What person had the right to change the name thus authoritatively given? This official survey and record, that year, became a part of the great official map of the United States, issued under the certificate of the Land Commissioner at Washington, and the lake and name, "Elk Lake," could have been found there by any person upon the most casual examination.

Now all these maps which are here cited, are among the papers of this Society, and with the exception of the Chambers' map, are distinctly *official* maps, not issued by private individuals, but by the authority of the State or General Government. They are open and accessible to all persons whomsoever. Was Capt. Glazier so excessively stupid, as not to consult all such existing official authorities, before starting on so important an undertaking? If so, what value can attach to the work of a man neglecting to properly equip himself for exploration? But it is in positive evidence, that previous to his issuing any map whatever, he was fully informed "that he was claiming what did not belong to him," and the government maps

were shown him with "Elk Lake" thereon.\* But he defiantly persisted in his assumption.

But there were still other sources of information, besides these, ready at hand, to throw light upon the subject, if they had been sought, or wanted. Charles Lanman alleges he was there in 1846; the Rev. Mr. Ayer and his son, Lyman Ayer, of Little Falls, Minnesota, was there in 1849; Wm. Bangs, of White Earth, Minn., was there in 1865; O. E. Garrison, for Census Bureau, 1880; W. E. Neal, of Minneapolis, was there both in 1880 and in 1881; the Rev. J. A. Gilfillan, of White Earth, Minn., was there in May, 1881. The facts pertaining to most of the foregoing visits, could have been easily found in the Minnesota Historical Society, a proper place for any man to go, who desired intelligently to embark in such work.

More than this, in so important a State document as the "Ninth Annual Report of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota," 1880, p. 321, C. M. Terry, in a paper therein on the "Hydrology of Minnesota," describes "Elk Lake" as a tributary of Itasca, and with judicious and intelligent criticism adds:

"It is rather a refinement of exactness to call Elk Lake, *as some explorers have*, the ultimate source of the Mississippi. Itasca Lake has been in possession of the honor so long that its claim ought not to be disputed, and certainly it is sufficiently minute, remote, and sylvan to answer all the requirements of an ideal source."

This Mr. Terry, who was employed by State authority, was a Congregational clergyman and had made natural science a special study, and was a son-in-law and pupil of Dr. Edward Hitchcock, of Amherst College, the eminent geologist. No man in the Northwest was better equipped for a close study, and intelligent understanding, of the water systems of Minnesota. In that Report, issued by

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\* G. Woolworth Colton, in *American Canoeist*, Nov. 1886: Mr. Colton made Glazier's map according to his dictation and gives remarkable testimony as to the shamelessness of Glazier's insistence on perverting the facts.

the State, Mr. Glazier could have read the full account of the lake he pretends to have discovered.

But this is not all, for the scientific world in Europe were also familiar with the results of Nicollet's explorations, and with the situation at Lake Itasca and vicinity. Dr. Peterman's "Stieler's Hand Atlas," published by Justus Perthes, of the Gotha Institute of Geography, contains distinctly this very lake. So that even in European geographies, the redoubtable Glazier could have found the lake he so brazenly claims.

Does not this record of facts show, that if Glazier had been in any respect whatever a student and a scientist, turn which ever way he might, he would have found the "lake" which has whetted his appetite for glory, or had he avoided the paths of the scholar and entered any "Real Estate Office" in St. Paul or Minneapolis, he would have found his lake distinctly marked and named "Elk Lake" on "Warner & Foote's Map," which is in such common use everywhere in the State.

In the face of these facts, the bold assumption of the man Glazier, is without a parallel in the annals of geographical history. His conduct is a total disregard of all the rules and dignities of a true scientist. Scientific knowledge has scarcely before been made the prey of a charlatan. The measure of his astounding fraud, has not yet fully penetrated the public mind. To begin his absurd undertaking, he must thrust aside the work of the noble Schoolcraft; the more careful and exhaustive explorations of the great scientist, Nicollet; to ignore the confirmatory examination of nearly a dozen explorers and travelers through a series of years; and finally to set aside the work of the government surveyors, with the official map staring him full in the face! Glazier's motto must be, "*l'audace, toujours l'audace.*"

But in what manner did he conduct his alleged exploration? With what element of scientific equipment was he

clothed? Without maps and documents throwing such light as may be upon the region to be explored; without any instruments whatever,\* always so necessary for the solution of a topographical problem, this geodetic champion advances to a review of the work of the great Nicollet! His own account is the authority for the facts of this most extraordinary exploration and discovery. He sights lake Itasca between three and four o'clock on July 21st, 1881, and passed directly to Schoolcraft's Island, where he at once went into camp, and retiring early, he did not begin the exhaustive work of exploration until 8 A. M., of the 22d; then putting his canoes into the water, and following the guidance of an Indian, he goes *directly to the waters to be discovered*. He enters the lake, hoists a flag, fires a volley, they make speeches, as he alleges, and announces that he has completed the work begun by De Soto in 1541! They immediately left the lake, and paddled back into Itasca, and at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day began the descent of the river.† Thus in seven hours of the 22d of July, 1881, did Capt. Willard Glazier, by his account, accomplish more in the discovery of the sources of the Mississippi, than had been done from the time of De Soto, three hundred and forty years, till that memorable hour! Shades of Columbus, of Magellan, of De Soto, of Henry Hudson, of Nicollet! To what a refinement of labor and economy of time, has Willard Glazier reduced the work of notable geographical explorations and discovery! Think of the painstaking Nicollet, devoting days to toilsome labor, and nights to astronomical observations! Think of the months of privation and danger endured by Schoolcraft and Nicollet, in the interests of true science; modest, loyal to their noble work, blazing an unknown path to the fountains of the Mis-

\* Those who accompanied him have so stated.

† See Glazier's paper in "American Met. Journal," pages 262, 322, 324, 325, 327; "Sword and Pen," pages 477, 478.

sissippi, and waiting years of reflection and review, before giving a report to the world! But fifty years later comes a stripling tourist, and in the midst of a civilized State, with a million of people, enters a surveyed township, blazed at every quarter section with the axe of the surveyor, and in an exploit of seven hours duration, endeavors to steal the well earned chaplets from bronzed brows of Schoolcraft and Nicollet, and strives to set them upon the head of a conscienceless "adventurer" instead!

There were full twenty miles of shore to be examined along the indentations and arms of Itasca, with its "Elk Lake" annex; there were at least fifteen miles of streams, with their sinuosities to be explored.

This point is of special importance, as it is made inferentially to appear in his writings, that he had explored some, at least, of these affluents. But Willard Glazier, being present in our Historical Society Rooms, Feb. 7th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, confessed to Gen. Baker, in the presence of witnesses,\* that he had *not* ascended any one of them, a fact which was known to this committee by other testimony. Glazier, thus by his own confession, contributed nothing whatever to geographical knowledge. He addressed himself to no work of a scientist. He did not find, or attempt to find Nicollet's creek, which is the main tributary of Itasca; he did not even visit the chief tributary of Elk Lake itself. His maps of the lake are in themselves misleading, as he caused it to be made out of all proportion to its real area, and extravagant in its comparative relation to Itasca. He makes one map in 1884, and another, locating the lake four miles further South, by his own scale of miles, in 1886. The latter is to be considered a revision, and places the lake where it does *not* belong. In neither map is it correct. His maps are therefore, in themselves, outrageously erroneous, and cannot be trusted for truth and fidelity.

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\* Present, J. B. Chaney and Geo. Hamilton.

Further than this, he distorts geography in the most reckless manner in his letter to the "Royal Geographical Society of England." In that communication, he locates his lake "not less than an entire degree of latitude South of Turtle Lake." This places it South of Crow Wing river and five miles North of the town of Wadena! People of Minnesota, how this man perverts the geography of your State! It is here to be observed that in this extraordinary letter to the Royal Society, the entire concluding paragraph is stolen bodily from Schoolcraft (Ed. 1834, page, 59), changing only the words of Schoolcraft "probably," into "*not less than*," thus adding blunder to theft. Pursue this adventurer in any of his statements concerning this whole thing, and how marvellous are his palpable errors. In one place he fixes the level of the water of his lake 3 feet above those of Itasca; in another at 7 feet. The facts are, from actual levels taken with instruments, the level of Elk Lake above Itasca waters, is just 13 inches.

Again, Glazier claims that the water from a lakelet, he calls lake "Alice," (really lake Whipple, as Mr. Gilfillan has named it), empties into Elk Lake, when, as a topographically determined fact, they debouch into the West arm of Itasca. Any searcher after geographical truth, in following this rattle-brained adventurer, would be led into hopeless mazes of error and confusion.

His work in distorting the geography of our State, is simply incredible. He has issued and scattered broadcast a map, entitled: "A map illustrative of Capt. Willard Glazier's voyage of exploration to the source of the Mississippi river." Coming into Minnesota, a strolling tourist, he has, in this map, made a bold and outrageous attempt to change the names of our lakes in an area of country 320 square miles in extent, beginning just West of Leech Lake, thence across to the Itasca basin, then following the meanderings of the Mississippi river to Lake Winnebegoshish. In this territory he displaced the ancient

Indian names, sacred to the people of Minnesota, and old in nomenclature as Leech Lake, Turtle Lake, Winnebegoshish or Cass Lake, coming down from immemorial times, and in their place substituted the following, changing as here noted :

- Kabekona River to Kabekanka.
- Kabekona Lake to Lake Garfield.
- Neway Lake to Lake George.
- Bowdich Lake to Lake Paine.
- Assawe Lake to Lake Hattie.
- Plantagenet Lake to Lake Hennepin.
- La Place River to Lake De Soto.

He assumes to name a long chain of lakes and ponds lying between Leech Lake and La Place river, after his army associates ; those from La Place river to Itasca, he devotes to his relatives.

Do the people of this State desire to have their ancient and honored nomenclature overthrown by such authority, and graft the Glazier family tree in lieu thereof? Does this Historical Society wish to admit this quack explorer's name on the map of this State, honored by such historic and treasured names as Cass, Le Sueur, Morrison, Olmstead, Sibley, McLeod, Kittson, Faribault, Ramsey, Rice, Marshall, Aitkin, Steele, Becker, Freeborn, Stevens, and other household names, identified with early days and noble deeds? It is in evidence that his lake is named after himself by collusion ; the lakelet in Sec. 27 after his daughter ; a lake near La Place river, after his brother, George ; another Hattie, after another of his family, and so on. This shows that he is consumed by egregious vanity, and an inordinate desire for notoriety.

As we pursue his devious record, step by step, we find that not in one thing touching our geography, has he told the truth. He has perverted the facts of our early history ; told stories of imaginary adventures along our noble streams ; deluged the country with false and erroneous

maps of the Northern portion of our State, and sought to rob us of ancient names.

Nicollet's work was done years before a white man had permanently settled within the boundaries of our State. Glazier's was a jovial picnic within the limits of civilization. The settler had already taken up homesteads within sight of Elk Lake, years before Glazier was there. Your committee have before them an official letter from the Register of the Land Office at Crookston, showing the date of the first settlement, by homestead, to have been Aug. 22d, 1878, by Austin Sigomore, on Sec. 22, three years before the alleged advent of this tourist.

His record of this imaginary exploration abounds in atrocious falsehoods. He dignified his geographic romance with beautiful speeches by his Indian guide, Ge-no-wa-ge-sic. Your committee are in receipt of a letter from the Rev. J. A. Gilfillan, which explodes even this element of wild romance into atoms. Read the following:

WHITE EARTH, MINN., January 7th, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—In accordance with your suggestion, I went a few days ago and saw Che-no-wa-ge-sic, with whom I have long been well acquainted. I took with me Glazier's book "Sword and Pen," and read him from it his speech as reported on page 453, beginning "My Brother, etc., and asked him how it was about that? He said he never made the speech reported, "*Never made any speech at all at Leech Lake, nothing whatever.*" I then read him, on page 474, about his stepping to the front, assuming an oratorical attitude etc., and his speech following, beginning "My brother, I have come with you through many lakes and rivers to the head of the Father of Waters," and asked him how about that? He said he never stood up and extended his arms; never said that no white man had yet seen the source of the great river, or that that Lake was it. The only thing there was to that, was that they, when the canoes arrived there, told Glazier that that was where he had planted corn, and that he had hunted all round those shores for many years. As to that speech on page 474, he only told him the above about planting corn and hunting; never told him that he had now got to the true head, for he (Che-no-wa-ge-sic), well knew that Lake Breck, the Elk Lake of the maps, was *not* the true head, but only the "place where the waters were gathered;" that he knew that the true head was a little stream a mile or two to the West, running into the West arm of Lake Itasca, putting

his finger on the map and running it along the stream up to the little lake, Lake Whipple, at N. W. corner of Section 34, according to the Government Survey. "That Glazier never asked him to take him to the true head, and he well knew that he did not take him there. That Glazier only asked him if he could take him to that lake which the Indians call Pokegama, and that he replied that he could; but that he knew that that was not the true source; it was only a place where the waters were gathered."

The above I have copied from my minutes of the interview with Che-no-wa-ge-sic, made immediately after. He is evidently an honest fellow and tells a true story. He did not know why I asked him; I did not let him know whether I was in Glazier's interest or otherwise, and he has heard nothing, I believe, of there being any dispute about the matter, and had no interest but to tell the truth.

To the people of Minnesota who know Mr. Gilfillan, this will be conclusive. Glazier's other statements have been repudiated by Channing Paine, the only white person, except his brother George, who accompanied him, and now his noble Indian, his former Che-no-wa-ge-sic, he too has abandoned this falsifier of history, and left him alone in his fabric of lies.

If it be urged by his friends, that, notwithstanding all that has been said, he was yet, as he claims, the first to demonstrate that there were other waters beyond Itasca, and that he showed those waters to be the lake indicated, there are plenty of answers to that. Chambers had so averred, in 1872, and called the lake "Dolly Varden"; A. H. Siegfried, in Lippincott's Magazine, Aug. 1880, who developed that whole theory of sources; and that Glazier knew of it, is shown by his plagiarizing boldly, as usual, from the magazine articles in question.

If he still pushes the claim beyond, into his "Lake Alice," by debouching its waters into Elk Lake, as he has done, and there rests his claim, still the government surveys and careful subsequent scientific research, show that that lakelet empties, far away, into Itasca itself. There is no longer a place, nor an evasion, where he can hide from the disgrace of his false and fraudulent pretensions.

But the flagrant fraud, boldly attempted to be put upon

the world by this pretended discovery, is only one of Capt. Glazier's sins against the literary and scientific world. There is another, equally glaring, ignoble and contemptible in a scientist, which is kin to his rape of the lake. It serves further to illustrate the character of the man:

In 1884, Capt. Glazier contributed to the "American Meteorological Journal," what purports to be an elaborate account of his "Recent Discovery of the True Sources of the Mississippi." In that account, he commits the boldest and most flagrant literary piracy to be found in the curiosities of all literature. Challenging and denying Schoolcraft's title to the discovery of the sources of the great river, he yet evidently had in his possession a copy of Schoolcraft's "Narrative of an Expedition to Lake Itasca in 1832," the same as published by Harper & Brothers, 1834, and if Glazier did not believe in the genuineness of Schoolcraft's discovery, it is patent that he had implicit faith in the fidelity of the careful Schoolcraft's descriptions of the Indians and of the localities. His plagiarisms are so bold, that Glazier has never presumed to deny the charge. "Stolen from Schoolcraft" should stand at the head of every printed column. These extraordinary coincidences of whole pages of identical language, were brought to light by the laborious researches of Henry D. Harrower, an accomplished scholar and geographer, and published by Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., of New York, 1886. Mr. Harrower has so completely pilloried the unfortunate Glazier, that he must be solid brass if he can again lift his head among literary people. It must destroy confidence in all his literary performances. We have carefully gone over Mr. Harrower's exhibits of parallel columns, comparing both with their originals, and are dazed at Glazier's audacity. The lapse of fifty years since Schoolcraft wrote, had no effect upon Glazier's judgment in appropriating the work of the former. The material incidents of time, place and customs, as changed during

the time among the Pillager band of Indians, are outrageously defied by Glazier. He sticks to Schoolcraft in spite of the results of a half century of schools, farming, and the civilizing effects of the government's care of these Indians. Their present condition is well known to these citizens of Minnesota, and Glazier's stolen account of them fifty years ago, as applicable to-day, is stupid beyond belief. Schoolcraft's fine description of a noted chief of 1832, is taken bodily by this literary thief, and applied to White Cloud in 1881. All this is like putting the girl of to-day in the clothes of her great-grandmother, and declaring it is the fashion of the hour.

Even in his purported trip of discovery, he follows, with unreserved confidence, Schoolcraft's description of portages, trails, marshes, swamps, elevations, waters, &c. Identical also, is his copy of the meteorology, zoology and botany of the country. The track and the foot-prints of Schoolcraft are never missed by a hair's-breadth, by this faithful plagiarist of the great scientist. Schoolcraft's fidelity to nature was never so complimented. If Glazier was there at all, he saw only with Schoolcraft's eyes. The same Indians, the same customs, same dances, same sacrifices, same houses, same meals, same salt-cellars, same grass, same pond-lillies, same rushes, same canoes, same flocks of pigeons, same ripe strawberries,—everything alike! Indeed, it was not necessary for Glazier to have visited Lake Itasca, if he ever did, for he could have copied the noble pages of Schoolcraft as well in his study, without the inconvenience of mosquitoes, or the expense of his journey.

To crown his bold plagiarisms with the mede of perfection, Glazier gives a table in "Am. Met. Journal," 1884, p. 328, " Meteorological Observations at the Head Waters of the Mississippi." It is true we have the evidence that he had no instruments with him, and took no observations whatever. But it is only a step from plagiarism, to lying.

In another volume of Schoolcraft, "Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi in 1820," published in Albany, N. Y., 1821, are two meteorological tables, taken at Big Sandy Lake, pages 268 and 314. Glazier reproduces these *identical tables as his own*, as if taken "at the head waters of the Mississippi."

We have the two tables before us, (Mr. Harrower's keen work,) and every date, and every barometrical observation, every hour of the notations, the character of each day and the direction of the wind, the very thunder, the rain-fall, all are identically the same, for every figure has been compared. They tally to a dot. But, just sixty-one years before, Aug. 2d, 1820, Schoolcraft broke his instrument and his observations ceased, at two P. M. of that day. Loyal and faithful ever, to the great man whose work he so religiously copied, Glazier ceases his barometrical record at just two P. M., Aug. 2d, 1881!!

Did Glazier think he was plundering neglected and forgotten books? No American scholar will forget Schoolcraft, no more than he will neglect Audubon, or bury Agassiz, and more and more as the Indian perishes, will Schoolcraft be recognized as authority and a classic. Glazier does not seek to conceal, or veil his thefts. A thief will seek to disguise his stolen horse by cutting off his tail, or clipping his hair; but Glazier struts in all his borrowed plumage, oblivious to every chance of discovery and dead to every sense of shame. Though his rank plagiarisms have long been made public, he neither modifies his story nor abates his pretensions. It seems useless further to unmask and dislume so stolid a man. But what the public are entitled to, is the truth of history and an honest geography.

## A CRITICAL REVIEW.

A critical review of the whole situation was made by Hopewell Clarke, a citizen of Minnesota, well known for his eminent fitness, experience and capacity for the work, who was engaged by Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., book publishers of the City of New York, to visit the sources of the Mississippi river for an accurate topographical survey of that region, with a purpose to carefully review the work of former explorers, and to determine any matters yet doubtful. Mr. Clark, after a full study of the case, with competent assistants, properly equipped with maps and instruments, did the work thoroughly in 1886. The results of his patient and exhaustive labors, which are before us, confirm the accuracy of the government surveys. It certifies to the general correctness of Nicollet's report and maps. Unlike Glazier's, this expedition explored every bay and indentation of the Itasca waters, and followed every affluent to its ultimate source. They trod in the honored footsteps of the indefatigable Nicollet. Every level was taken with instruments, and every distance measured with a chain. They confirm a visit of Nicollet to Elk Lake, by his minute notations of its feeders, which could only be observed by actual exploration. They fix the location of Elk Lake precisely where the government surveyors located it; and they demonstrate that Glazier both distorted its size, and placed it too far from the Itasca waters. He concurs fully with Nicollet, and other reliable explorers, that the longest, and by far the most important of the affluents of the Itasca basin, is the river, a creek which debouches into the Southwest arm of the lake, being sixteen feet wide, two and one half deep at its mouth, and the one most elevated in source being ninety-two feet above Itasca, while Elk Lake is but thirteen inches higher. This expedition confirms the statement by water-marks found, that Itasca waters were once higher, and Elk Lake once lower, than they now are, and that the latter, as here-

tofore stated, was doubtless but an estuary of Itasca at the time of Schoolcraft's and Nicollet's explorations. He fully confirms the general idea of Nicollet that "Lake Itasca is the first important reservoir and basin of all the springs that feed the head waters of the Mississippi river."

They find the posts and blazings of the government surveyors still visible. Men of our own State, worthy to be trusted, they did their work without prejudice or bias, intent only on finding out the truth as to the primal waters of our great river. They confirm the fidelity of Schoolcraft and Nicollet to every essential fact, and renew, to those daring explorers, the honors they so nobly won.

But why pursue this investigation further? Let this perverter of history and distorter of geography be dismissed as a charlatan adventurer, with the contempt he so richly merits.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

After a most diligent and laborious examination of all the records, maps and documents bearing upon the case, which are now so complete and exhaustive as to be no longer liable to any material change, your committee, beg leave respectfully to submit the results of their findings:

1. That Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, accompanied by Lt. James Allen, in a scientific expedition made by him, July 1832, to the head waters of the Mississippi river, did discover, locate, delineate and map the general basin, which is the first great gathering place and reservoir of the head waters of that continental stream, and was by him named Lake Itasca, from the Latin words *veritas caput*, the true head. That he announced the discovery in a narrative written in a modest, honorable and distinct manner. That his companion, Lt. Allen, the topographer of the party, drew a map, which map was deposited, and is now, in the General Land Office of the U. S., in the City of Washington, which map exhibits the substantial outlines

of Lake Itasca and its general surroundings. That Schoolcraft's right to the original honor of this discovery cannot be rightfully questioned or challenged.

2. That Jean N. Nicollet, a distinguished French scholar and explorer, did, in August 1836, visit and minutely explore the same region in and about the Itasca basin. That his work exhibits all the care of a trained scientist, and that his map, deposited in the office of Engineers, U. S. A. 1836-7, is so complete in detail, that all subsequent examinations and surveys have been but certificators of its general accuracy. That his report is clear, comprehensive and scientific.

That Nicollet did discover and explore to its sources, a creek, or river, whose primal springs are now found by government surveys, to be in Sec. 34, Town 143 N., R. 36 W., 5th Principal Meridian, and 92 feet above the level of Lake Itasca; which creek, or river, has its rise at the foot hills of the Hauteur des Terres, which curve, like a crescent, around its sources, and this is the longest, as it is by far the largest, tributary of the Itasca basin. To use Nicollet's own language: "In obedience to the geographical rule, that the sources of a river are those that are most distant from its mouth, this creek is truly the infant Mississippi; all others below, its feeders and tributaries." Then he modestly and courteously adds:

"The honor of having first explored the sources of the Mississippi, and introduced a knowledge of them into physical geography, belongs to Mr. Schoolcraft and Lieutenant Allen. I come only after these gentlemen; but I may be permitted to claim some merit for having completed what was wanting for a full geographical account of these sources. Moreover, I am, I believe, the first traveler, who has carried with him astronomical instruments, and put them to profitable account along the whole course of the Mississippi, from its mouth to its sources."

This is the essence of the whole story. To these two

eminent scholars and scientists belong all the glory of the discovery of the primal sources of the Mississippi river.

Your committee recommend that this chief tributary of Itasca, should be named " Nicollet River " in honor of its great discoverer, and that the lakelet in Section 27, be named Alpha, as significant of the absolute ultimate source.

Recommended, that the name " Glazier Lake " be expunged from the lake in Sec. 22, of the same Town and Range, and that the name " Elk Lake " be continued as rightfully and appropriately named by the authority of the Government of the United States.

That we earnestly and respectfully recommend all geographers, map-makers and historians, to follow the conclusions herein reached, as final to a matter of geography within our own State.

That we respectfully recommend that the present Legislature, by joint resolution, or otherwise, as to them may seem best, take such action as will fix and maintain the nomenclature of the waters as herein indicated.

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At the conclusion of the reading of Gen. Baker's Report, Ex-Gov. Alex. Ramsey moved that the report be adopted, and published by the Society, which motion prevailed.

The following Resolutions were then read, and unanimously adopted :

WHEREAS, The members of this Society have listened to the reading of the report prepared by Gen. James Heaton Baker on the claims made by Capt. Willard Glazier, to the credit of having in 1881 " discovered the source of the Mississippi river," to-wit: A lake adjoining Lake Itasca, designated on the United States surveys as Elk Lake; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we hereby express as the deliberate judgment of this Society that the assertions and assumptions of said Glazier, in the matter named, are baseless and false—that he is in no sense whatever a "discoverer" or "explorer," the lake which he is now endeavoring to have called by his name having been originally visited and mapped by Schoolcraft in 1832; again carefully explored and scientifically examined

and described in official reports and maps by that accurate and conscientious scientist, Jean Nicholas Nicollet in 1836, and was in 1875 fully surveyed and mapped by the United States surveyors, and soon after claims and pre-emptions were filed on lands adjoining said lake.

*Resolved*, That we assert our unqualified belief, based on the thorough and careful investigations of Nicollet, O. E. Garrison and others, and again, more recently, of those made by Hopewell Clarke, that the lake which Capt. Glazier asserts is "the true source of the Mississippi river," is *not such in reality*, but that the real source of the river is Lake Itasca and its tributaries, arising in sections 27 and 28 of the township in which it is located.

*Resolved*, That we feel amazed at the presumption and assurance displayed by Capt. Glazier; first, in hastily making such an audacious claim, based, at best upon an uncertain and doubtful foundation; and again, in arrogantly heralding himself to the world as a discoverer, without first submitting his claims to some tribunal competent to pronounce on their merits and having his alleged discovery examined. And further, in deceiving geographical and scientific societies by sending them an account of his pretended discoveries, and causing to be published books and magazine articles in which he is praised and puffed in unmeasured terms and held up to the admiration of the country as one who had achieved some praiseworthy feat; also, in publishing maps in which the lake in question is represented as four times its real size and placed in a wrong position; and lastly, in persuading, by persistent solicitations, map and school book publishers to place his name to "Elk Lake" and declare it "the source of the Mississippi river."

*Resolved*, That the wholesale and unblushing plagiarisms by Capt. Glazier from the descriptions of Itasca in the writings of Schoolcraft, Siegfried and others, and of the meteorological tables in the former, tend to throw discredit on all his assertions and to render him unworthy of the respect and confidence which would be due to him, were he really the discoverer which he claims to be.

*Resolved*, That we respectfully ask the legislature to pass, without delay, the bill recently introduced into the house by Mr. Donnelly, to fix irrevocably on the map of the State the names of the lakes and streams composing the Itasca sources of the Mississippi river, so that its earliest explorers be not robbed of their just laurels, and to remove temptations to adventurers in future to gain notoriety by attaching their names to said lakes.

*Resolved*, That we call upon the various geographical, historical and other learned societies throughout the world to join with us in repudiating Glazier's claims, and ask them, in the spirit of truth and right, that if they have in their possession, maps with the lake in question so named, they erase Glazier's name from them and substitute therefor that of "Elk Lake."

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*Resolved*, That our thanks are due, and are hereby tendered, to Gen. James H. Baker, for his able and exhaustive report; and also to H. D. Harrower, Esq., of New York, the Rev. J. A. Gilfillan of White Earth, Minn., and to Messrs. Alfred J. Hill, Hopewell Clarke and J. B. Chaney of St. Paul, for valuable aid rendered in the investigation of maps and documents relating to the question.

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